

*Recent Migrations from Morocco to Spain*¹

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In today's world, the concept of South-North migration has a precise meaning, *i.e.*, the global migratory current originating in the underdeveloped countries which ends up in the more prosperous areas of the globe. The expression seems quite appropriate when used cautiously, given that it reflects the general direction of migratory currents.

Currently, within the global panorama of South-North migrations, Western Europe is probably the most outstanding case. The reason is evident: the contrast between the social-economic development of Western Europe and that of North Africa or Eastern Europe is quite dramatic because of their proximity.

Nowadays, the emigration factors outweigh those of immigration, especially in the case of the migrations through the Mediterranean (Golini *et al.*, 1991). In other words, what really provokes migratory flows in this area are important demographic, socioeconomic and political-religious differences within the sending countries, much more than the contrasts among affluent and needy nations (Table 1), and much more than the necessity for foreign manual labor in the developed countries. These differences impel great numbers of 'southerners' to move north, fleeing always from misery – from discrimination or war, also, many times – and determined to take part in the exchange of economic goods in the developed countries.

South-North migrations in Western Europe coexist with high unemployment rates. The explanation must be sought in the nature of the European job market. The unemployment which has characterized European Community (EC) countries since the first petroleum crisis persists today, along with a general lack of highly qualified manual laborers. Most emigrants tend to find employment on the fringes of the job market, or in unregulated parallel job markets, allowing in many instances the retention of invalid production and

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TABLE 1
ECONOMIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC CONTRASTS ACROSS THE MEDITERRANEAN

	IPC \$		Population		Projected Population (1985)	
	1983	1989	1985	1990	2000	2020
Portugal	2,190	4,260	10	10.5	11	12
Spain	4,800	9,150	38	39.0	42	43
France	10,390	17,830	55	56.5	57	57
Italy	6,350	15,150	57	57.0	58	55
Greece	3,970	5,340	10	10.0	11	12
Morocco	750	900	24	25.0	37	59
Algeria	2,400	2,170	22	25.0	35	53
Tunisia	1,290	1,260	7	8.0	10	13
Libya	7,500	5,400	4	4.5	7	11
Egypt	700	630	48	53.0	67	94
Turkey	1,230	1,360	52	58.5	71	97

Source: Population Reference Bureau, Washington, DC.

labor relations which are unacceptable for local workers. In spite of the obvious macroeconomic advantages of the northern immigrant-receiving society, which in this way obtains a more flexible and inexpensive labor force, on the microeconomic level the native lower-class workers are affected by the direct social and economic competition represented by immigrants.

The 1985 Schengen agreement between Benelux, France and Germany – to which Italy, Portugal, and Spain were later incorporated – defines a single border with respect to other countries, abolishes internal borders, and establishes the technical means of achieving this, as well as a system of information and of mutual judicial assistance. The implementation of this agreement has provoked many criticisms, since in the background are two serious contradictory fears: on the one hand, that of a 'strainer' Europe which opens itself up to all the migratory currents; on the other hand, that of a 'fortress' Europe which erects a wall to the 'South' – to the south and another one to the east. All the analysts agree that the problem of South-North migrations has an important political component, and that the North either institutes changes in the power structure or will be forced to accept them in a very near future.

An economic takeoff in the South, or at least in part of the South, will greatly alleviate the current situation. To do this, it is necessary to invest in those countries and to find a realistic, yet appropriate, solution to their current debt. In the meantime, we have to facilitate the integration of immigrants, although many may return to their country after a couple of years.

MIGRATIONS IN SPAIN

Spain has traditionally been a country of emigrants. Since the nineteenth century, the migratory movement from Spain to the exterior followed a process similar to the one that occurred in other European countries. The first massive

emigration of Spaniards went to the north of Africa – Algeria was the first pole of attraction. In 1886, about 150,000 Spaniards were counted in Algeria. However, many swallows – as they used to call the seasonal migrants – were included. This stopped in the last decade of the past century, joining the great migratory wave overseas, primarily to Cuba and Argentina, as well as to other countries of the South American continent and, to a lesser degree, to North America and Australia.

The second massive exodus of Spaniards occurred between 1960 and 1975, this time toward the industrialized countries of Europe: France, Germany, Switzerland, Great Britain, Belgium, and the Netherlands. Parallel to this exodus of Spanish workers was the rural exodus in Spain which depopulated great areas of the interior and overcrowded the more developed cities.

In the late 1970s, Spain became a center of attraction for people. Among the internal reasons for this are the political and economic opening of the country and the end of the rural exodus, which made it possible for employment offers to be made for low qualified jobs in the big cities. Among the external causes we should mention the anti-immigration policies of the industrialized countries of Europe, the unemployment existing in the countries of origin, and the triumph of authoritarian governments in Africa and Latin America that forced political dissidents to emigrate. Besides, the increase of foreign tourism helped potential immigrants enter the country.

The current distribution of resident aliens in Spain according to continent of origin is shown in Table 2. As can be seen, most of the official immigration in Spain is based on the great numbers of Europeans, which represent the most numerous contingent: 66.2 percent. Of these, 19.1 percent come from Great Britain, 11.2 percent from Germany, 8.1 percent from Portugal, 7.0 percent from France, followed by lesser percentages of Dutch, Italian, and Belgian residents. The four countries cited presume an absolute number of 185,935 immigrants, which represents 68.8 percent of the European immigration contingent and 45.6 percent of the total.

TABLE 2
RESIDENT ALIENS IN SPAIN IN 1990, BY CONTINENT OF ORIGIN

Continent	Absolute Value	Percent
Europe	270,022	66.2
Asia	29,116	7.1
Africa	25,854	6.3
North and Central America	31,807	7.8
South America	48,751	12.0
Oceania	1,103	0.3
Expatriates and w/o Nationality	994	0.2
Total	407,647	100.0

Source: Spanish Bureau of the Census (INE), 1991.

The official foreign community in Spain is formed by people from industrialized and economically powerful countries, with the exception of Portugal. The economic conditions of these countries of origin mark the characteristics of their migrants. These people seek residences in the Mediterranean where they can spend their retirement, or they establish small businesses in the coastal tourist zones where they have guaranteed customers – even some from their own country – or they establish themselves in the most developed areas for professional reasons.

The American continent (North and South) occupies second place in terms of continent of origin with 19.7 percent of the total, although not all countries are equally represented. The United States (16,092), Argentina (17,679), Venezuela (9,320) and Cuba (5,126) contribute the greatest number of American immigrants. Of the rest of the world, only the Philippines (7,416) and China (4,090) have significant figures.

Looking at the location of immigrants within Spain, Table 3 shows their numerical distribution by autonomous communities in Spain. Figure 1 portrays the total number of immigrants in each province.

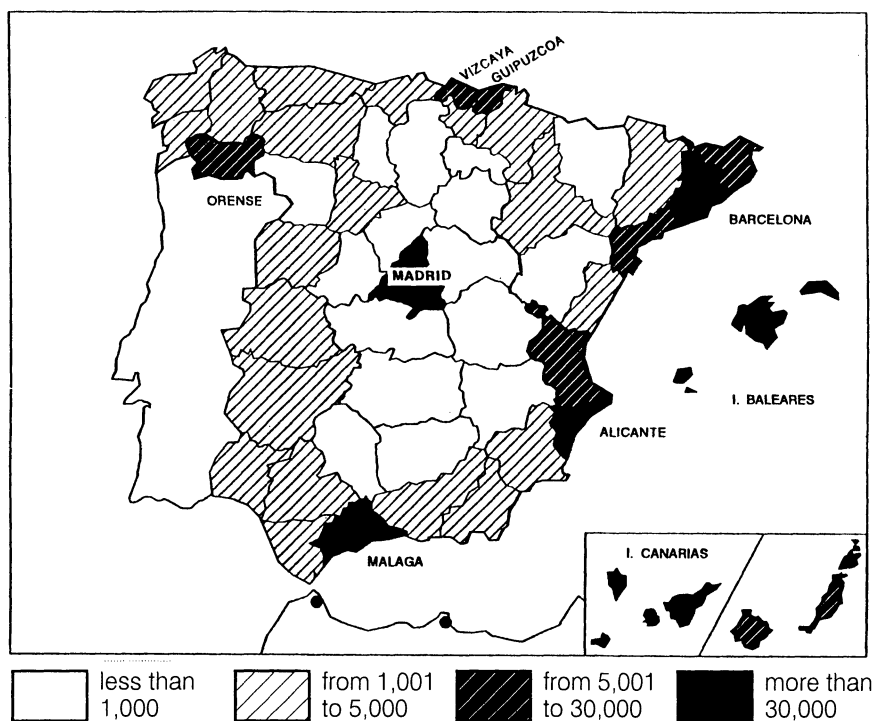
Almost all of the resident aliens of Andalusia, Baleares, Canary Islands, Catalonia, Valencia and Madrid are received by the communities: 348,487, representing 85 percent of the total of Spain.

TABLE 3
RESIDENT ALIENS IN SPAIN BY COMMUNITY OF DESTINATION, 1990

Autonomous Communities	Absolute Value	Percent
Andalusia	72,543	17.8
Aragon	3,988	1.0
Asturias	4,198	1.0
Baleares	32,646	8.0
Canary Islands	51,955	12.7
Cantabria	1,751	0.4
Castile-Leon	10,047	2.5
Castile-La Mancha	1,992	0.5
Catalonia	65,990	16.2
Valencia	64,451	15.8
Extremadura	2,273	0.6
Galicia	15,062	3.7
Madrid	60,902	14.9
Murcia	3,422	0.8
Navarre	1,920	0.5
Basque Country	13,169	3.2
Rioja	598	0.1
Ceuta and Melilla	740	0.2
Total	407,647	100.0

Source: INE.

FIGURE 1. Resident Aliens (Absolute Figures) in Spain: 1990



Source: INE.

The spatial concentration is even greater if we consider the provinces. Seven of the provinces forming the previously cited autonomous communities have a total number of 294,174 resident aliens, which is 72.8 percent in relation to the national figures (Las Palmas 4.8%, Santa Cruz de Tenerife 7.8%, Baleares 8.0%, Barcelona 11.4%, Malaga 12.1%, Alicante 12.8%, and Madrid 14.9%).

How do these 400,000 foreign residents compare with other Western European countries? According to 1991 EUROSTAT publications, Germany is clearly ahead of every other political unit with almost 5,000,000 (1,600,000 Turks) resident aliens. France is second in the line, with more than 3,500,000 foreigners (1,500,000 Maghrebis). The United Kingdom has 1,800,000 foreign residents (mostly Irish, Indian and American). Switzerland comes fourth, accepting 1,000,000 people (primarily former Yugoslavs and Turks). Belgium, the Netherlands, and Italy also admit larger amounts of foreigners than does Spain.

The amount of foreign residents by country is a variable that is much more spatially concentrated in Western Europe than the population variable. While the German population is about 19 percent of the EC total, foreign residents

in Germany are approximately 36 percent of the sum of resident aliens in the EC. France and Belgium follow the same pattern: 17 percent and 27 percent, and 3 percent and 6 percent, respectively. Italy is by far the most remarkable exception, having a population of 57,576,000 people (17.6% of the EC total) and housing only 3 percent (433,618) of the resident aliens in the EC. Spain has 11 percent of EC total population (ranking in fifth place) and 3 percent of the resident aliens (seventh place).

Up to now, we have been speaking only of the number of resident aliens which represent the official figures published by the Spanish Bureau of the Census (INE) and the Bureau of Police. We should add approximately 25 percent more to these figures to account for the foreign population living legally in Spain but in a different situation from that of a resident. This is the case of students, refugees, minors and the handicapped who are included on their parents' or guardians' documents, and those who have stay permits.

Nevertheless, the real character of Spain as a country of immigrants is evident when one considers the number of men and women who live illegally in the country. This figure varies according to the source used. The National Institute of Emigration (IEE) offers the figure of 172,682 foreigners in irregular situations in Spain for 1989, following the estimates of the technical group PASS. In contrast, IOE Consultants estimate that the number of illegal aliens for 1986 was 366,500.² Table 4 reflects the continent of origin of this population according to both estimates. The fact that stands out the most when we combine the geographic frame of reference of both sources, excluding the important difference between the figures, is the role of the African continent in illegal immigration to Spain compared to the small number of foreigners coming from the so-called First World. Another important feature is the resemblance of the estimates for the African group, compared to the estimates for people coming from other continents – there seems to be almost an agreement on the magnitude of the African immigrant community.

The estimates of PASS proved to be more accurate than those of IOE, (as will be seen later in this article). Nonetheless, the IOE report was crucial when it was issued. It was the first report on the relevance of the immigration phenomenon in Spain.

If viewed by country, the one with the greatest representation according to both sources is Morocco, with 34 percent of the total number of irregular immigrants according to PASS estimates of 58,775, and 23.7 percent according to IOE estimates of 87,000. Portugal (13.8% according to PASS; 12.3% according to IOE) is second, and the Philippines (10.8% according to PASS; 11.7% according to IOE) is third.

The destination of the illegal immigrants follows the pattern of legal immigrants, reinforcing the attraction of the communities of Madrid and Catalonia (Table 5).

²In 1989, IOE Consultants reduced their figures to 294,000 illegal aliens.

TABLE 4
FOREIGN IMMIGRANTS IN IRREGULAR SITUATIONS IN SPAIN BY CONTINENT OF ORIGIN (ESTIMATES)

Continent of Origin	IOE (1986)	PASS (1989)
Europe and North America	50,000	37,959
Latin America	102,000	
Asia	82,500	9,227
Africa	132,000	106,823
Oceania	—	18,673
Total	366,500	172,682

TABLE 5
FOREIGN IMMIGRANTS IN IRREGULAR SITUATIONS IN SPAIN BY COMMUNITY OF DESTINATION, 1990
 (ESTIMATES)

Community of Destination	Absolute Value	Percent
Andalusia	6,226	3.6
Aragon	539	0.3
Asturias	6,521	3.8
Baleares	3,369	2.0
Canary Islands	82	0.0
Cantabria	378	0.2
Castile-Leon	7,686	4.4
Castile-La Mancha	49	0.0
Catalonia	53,899	31.2
Valencia	10,334	6.0
Extremadura	110	0.0
Galicia	8,659	5.0
Madrid	65,121	37.7
Murcia	1,373	0.8
Navarre	288	0.2
Basque Country	437	0.3
Rioja	86	0.0
Ceuta and Melilla	7,525	4.4
Total	172,682	100.0

Sources: IEE; PASS.

MOROCCAN IMMIGRATION IN SPAIN

Until the legislation popularly called 'Foreigner Law' appeared in 1985, there was no single domestic judicial body in Spain to regulate the rights and responsibilities of the foreign population in the country. The need for such legislation arose from the strong and continuing immigrant pressure within the country. The main objectives of the law were: to systematize the entry and residency procedures of foreigners in Spain; to protect the national job market; to guarantee acceptable working conditions for foreigners, as well as to assist them to integrate, avoiding illegality and marginalization; and to harmonize

Spanish legislation with the rest of EC member countries, working within the framework of the EC unification process.

The Law – of which three articles were found unconstitutional in July of 1987 – has been difficult to apply in many cases because of its technical complexity and the deficient infrastructure of a “country unfamiliar with the administrative actions of immigration” (OECD).

Most of the protest over the Law has been directed at its discriminatory character; Spain follows European immigration policies which facilitate freedom of movement within EC member countries but restrict the entry of nonmember country populations, especially those of the Third World. The justification of the means for self-sufficiency or for having a regular job are clearly discriminatory measures taken against economic immigrants who, to a large degree, involuntarily become illegals.

In the case of the Moroccans, discrimination exists in relation to other ethnic groups, like Latin Americans, Portuguese, Filipinos, Andorrans, Equatoguineans, Sephardies and the original inhabitants of the city of Gibraltar; these groups are treated with preference over other foreigners when obtaining or renewing work permits (Art. 18 of the Law) or when working in Spain (Art. 23). Nationals of Morocco, a Spanish protectorate until 1956, do not benefit from this preferential treatment.

Applying the Law (starting in 1986) has not weakened the flow of Moroccan immigrants into the country. In fact, over the last few years it has risen and the volume of illegal aliens has increased. Geographic proximity and easy access to Spain as tourists have been the fundamental causes. EC concern over these gaps along its border provoked the introduction of visa requirements for Morocco; this fundamental measure was intended to help control the flow of illegal immigrants and went into effect on May 15, 1991.

The Importance of the Movement

The proximity of the African coast to Spain, combined with the ease in communications, has facilitated the access of peoples from the north of the neighboring continent over the last few years. Nonetheless, the Moroccan population stands out significantly with regard to the number of rejections at the border in 1990. Using police sources, 84 percent of the foreigners were not admitted.

The measure of imposing visas on the peoples coming from Maghreb countries was designed to prevent movements of great magnitude. Beginning May 15, 1991, the flow of Moroccans crossing the Strait of Gibraltar was cut, and the entry of people without the proper documentation was reduced, in most cases, to a small number of youths risking their lives and undertaking an adventure by themselves. Many of them sell all their belongings in their country and, after waiting for a day when the sea is calm, begin the ‘great escape.’ On the other side of the Strait lies Europe, and they are determined

to reach it, piling themselves up on small fishing boats, called *pateras*, with motors of only 50 horsepower which do not resist the force of the sea. Because of this, many of these youths die before reaching Europe.

The police figures on the movement and border rejection of the Moroccan population and its importance in the group of foreign populations that enter Spain contrast with the small percentage of 'official' residents coming from Morocco: 16,665 (4%) in 1990. The number of undocumented Moroccans would be greater than the number of legal residents; in 1986, IOE estimated this at 87,000. In this way, a total of 94,553 Moroccans were calculated for the whole of Spain at that date – including the undocumented population as well as the nationalized population, residents and permanent citizens in a legal situation. The technical group PASS (1990) afterward summarized the number of Moroccan immigrants in illegal situations as 58,775 in the whole country.

This year's United Nations Report on Human Development places Spain in 23rd place with an index of 0.916/1. Morocco, on the other hand, is in 106th place with an index of 0.429/1. The demand for flexible and obedient manual labor in Spain, for such sectors as construction, seasonal agriculture or domestic service, is another primary migration factor.

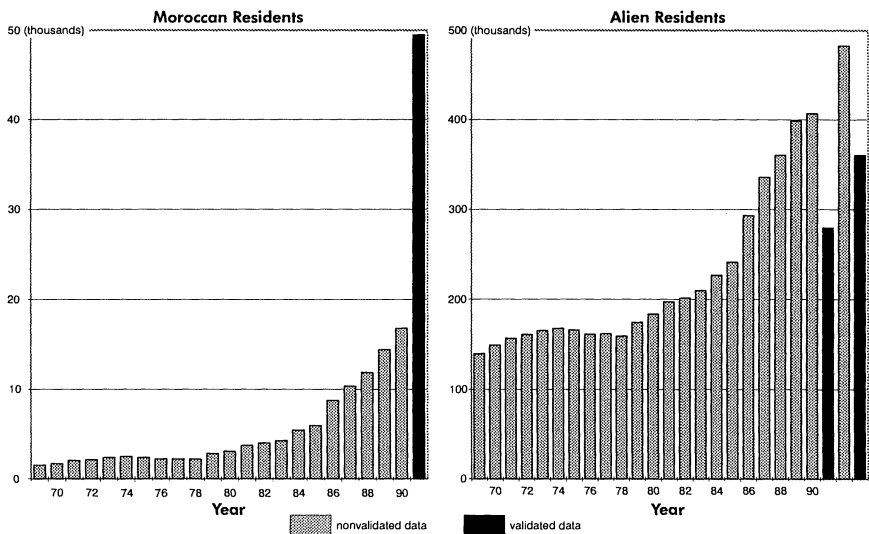
The process of regularizing the foreign population that took place in 1991 has made clear, once again, the importance of the Moroccan colony in Spain; according to data provided by the Bureau of Migratory Affairs for this project, 49,155 citizens from Morocco have passed from clandestine status to legal status (as of December 31, 1993). This volume represents 44.6 percent of the total of regularized foreigners.

According to these figures, Moroccans are in first position among foreign immigrants by nationality. The visa requirements for the Moroccan population beginning May 1991 ended a phase in the immigration of this group in Spain and began a new phase of marked restrictive character and European inspiration.

Recent Evolution of the Moroccan Population in Spain

There are two significant points in the Moroccan colony. The first corresponds to 1986, which coincides with the initial regularization of illegal aliens in Spain, before the Foreigner Law went into effect. In 1991, the second regularization was brought about and, with it, the number of Moroccan residents skyrockets. However, some who obtained their residency permits during the last process were not included in the 1991 figures but rather the following year. Figure 2 graphically reflects the temporary enlargement of the Moroccan and foreign populations, respectively, in Spain that have residency permits. One should keep in mind that there is only information on the resident population. The increase in the clandestine Moroccan population is unknown.

FIGURE 2. Moroccan and Alien Residents in Spain: 1969–1991



Source: Bureau of Police.

Location of the Colony: Main Centers

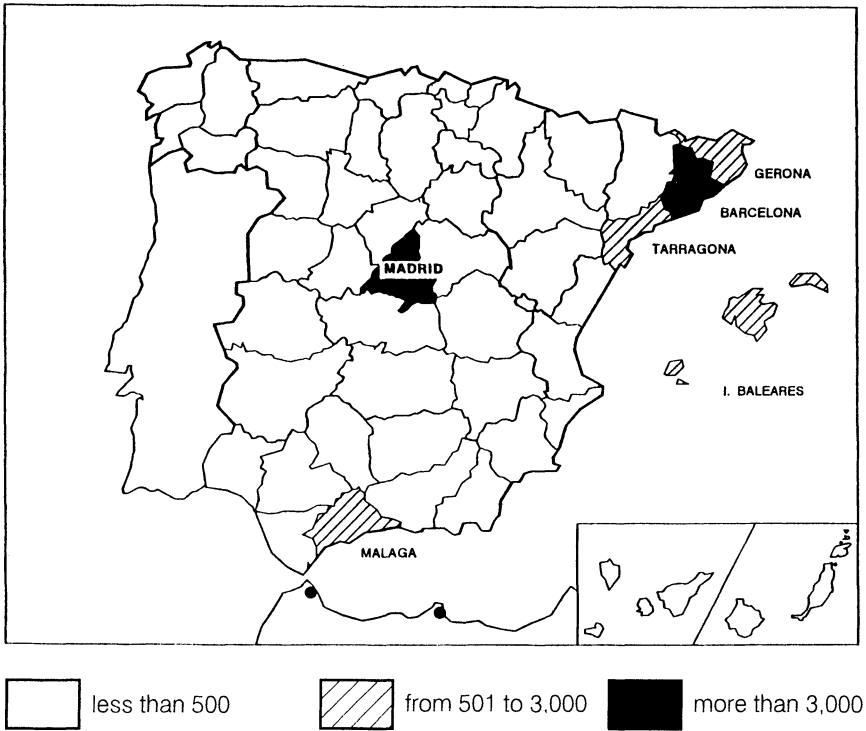
Figure 3 and Table 6 show the location of the Moroccan colony with residency permits by province in Spain, and their numbers in the different Autonomous Communities. The Mediterranean coastline and Madrid in the interior of the peninsula are generally the preferred zones for settlement. At the provincial level, Barcelona, Madrid and Malaga have the greatest number of Moroccans, in absolute figures, with 3,181, 3,075 and 2,494 people respectively.

As shown in Table 7, the estimates given by PASS for the group of clandestine Moroccans follow the same pattern, although the figures emphasize Catalonia's role as a receptive region, with 51 percent of the total.

The estimates given by IOE for the location of the entire Moroccan community in Spain (including those nationalized, documented, and undocumented) show similar tendencies. The Spanish towns of Ceuta and Melilla, in the North of Africa, stand out as the main points of concentration for Moroccans, followed at a distance by Catalonia and the Community of Madrid.

The Moroccan community definitely tends to be located in the most important cities of the country, in agricultural regions, and in tourist areas. The location of regularized Moroccans by province in Spain is shown in Figure 4, and their numbers in the different autonomous communities are provided in Table 8. It is significant to note that these include clandestine Moroccans who become legal residents. The relative importance of Cáceres and Toledo as regularization posts is because agricultural laborers are drawn to Cáceres,

FIGURE 3. Moroccan Residents in Spain: 1990



Source: INE.

especially for the tobacco harvest, and migrants who work in the southern part of the Madrid metropolitan area tend to stay in nearby Toledo. Barcelona and Madrid, the most important urban areas of the country, stand out as fundamental centers of attraction with almost 50 percent of the Moroccan colony.

Characteristics³

The best and most recent source of information from which to obtain the sociodemographic characteristics of the Moroccan population is the Bureau of Migratory Affairs which provides data (of December, 1993) on the immigrants regularized by December of 1991.

³The data contributed on the characteristics of the Moroccan population are unpublished; they have been furnished by the Bureau of Migratory Affairs for this project. The data are considered representative of the whole Moroccan population in our country.

TABLE 6
RESIDENT MOROCCANS IN SPAIN BY COMMUNITY OF DESTINATION: 1990

Autonomous Communities	Absolute Value	Percent
Andalusia	3,906	23.4
Aragon	193	1.2
Asturias	40	0.2
Baleares	505	3.0
Canary Islands	867	5.2
Cantabria	17	0.1
Castile-Leon	214	1.3
Castile-La Mancha	99	0.6
Catalonia	5,260	31.6
Valencia	840	5.0
Extremadura	203	1.2
Galicia	141	0.8
Madrid	3,075	18.5
Murcia	310	1.9
Navarre	36	0.2
Basque Country	607	3.6
Rioja	57	0.3
Ceuta and Melilla	295	1.8
Total	16,665	100.0

Source: INE.

Migratory Affairs which provides data (of December, 1993) on the immigrants regularized by December of 1991.

The population is predominantly young (55.5% between 22 and 31 years of age), single (63.2%) and male (86.0%). We should keep in mind that the source consulted provides data for the population legalized through joint work

TABLE 7
MOROCCANS IN SPAIN IN IRREGULAR SITUATION BY COMMUNITY OF DESTINATION:
1989 (PASS ESTIMATES)

Autonomous Communities	Absolute Value	Percent
Andalusia	2,132	3.6
Aragon and Rioja	141	0.2
Catalonia	30,124	51.2
Valencia	6,087	10.4
Extremadura	55	0.1
Madrid	11,075	18.8
Murcia	1,373	2.3
Basque Country	98	0.2
Ceuta and Melilla	7,516	12.8
All Others	174	0.3
Total	58,775	100.0

Source: IEE; PASS.

TABLE 8
MOROCCANS REGULARIZED BY COMMUNITY OF DESTINATION: 1991

Autonomous Communities	Absolute Value	Percent
Andalusia	6,031	12.2
Aragon	632	1.3
Asturias	79	0.2
Baleares	1,128	2.3
Canary Islands	990	2.0
Cantabria	49	0.1
Castile-Leon	310	0.6
Castile-La Mancha	1,265	2.6
Catalonia	17,972	36.6
Valencia	3,099	6.3
Extremadura	1,529	3.1
Galicia	339	0.7
Madrid	11,033	22.4
Murcia	3,920	8.0
Navarre	145	0.3
Basque Country	375	0.8
Rioja	238	0.5
Ceuta and Melilla	21	0.0
Total	49,155	100.0

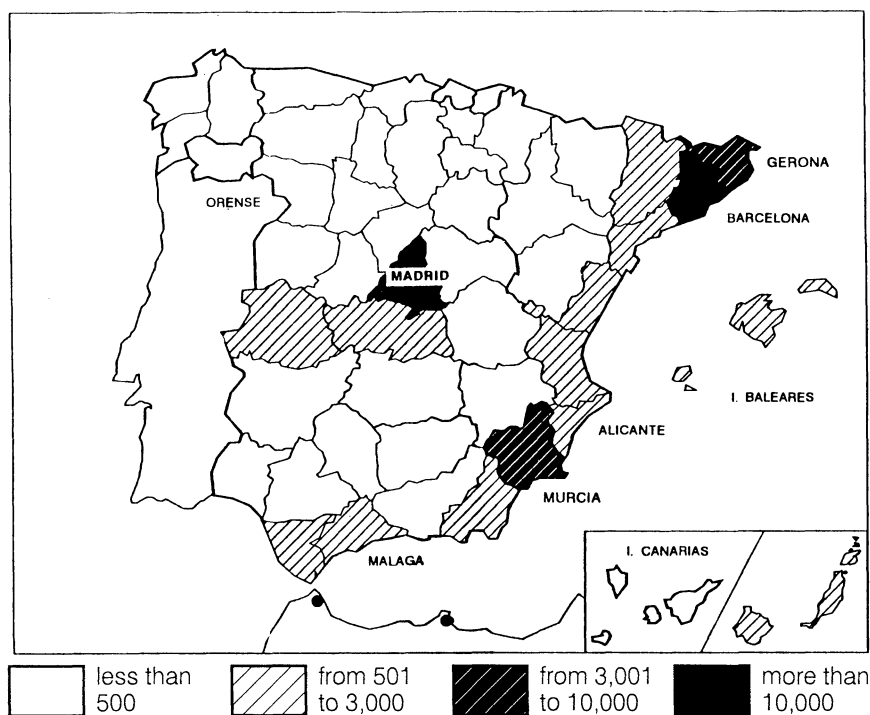
Source: Bureau of Migratory Affairs; results of regularization process up to December 31, 1993.

and residency permits and therefore concerns a worker population. Nevertheless, the Bureau of Migratory Affairs considers that the opportunities provided by the registration process enabled many unemployed people to join the process and pass through as workers.

An administrative program for regrouping families, related to the registration process, was opened for the dependents of workers already legalized. Nevertheless, the number of Moroccans applying for this has been limited: 1,557 for all of Spain. This fact makes one suppose that the majority of registered people do not have family dependents. It also tells of the importance of the group we are studying as representative of the whole Moroccan colony in Spain, although we should be cautious when analyzing its rate of employment.

Tables 9, 10, and 11 reflect the demographic characteristics of this group. As pointed out, the population is, above all, young and masculine (Tables 9 and 10) – the majority are between 17 and 51 years – and actively employed. Although most are single, a high proportion are married (one-third); they tend not to come with their spouses but, instead, it seems that the head of the household generally ‘goes first’ to look for work and comfortable living conditions so he can ‘haul’ the rest of the family over later. In many cases, the migrant’s savings are crucial to the support of his family and are sent regularly to his country of origin. There are a great number of women from urban areas among the divorced (Table 11) whose strategy is similar to that of men who have to support families.

FIGURE 4. Moroccans Regularized (Absolute Value) in Spain: 1991



Source: DGM.

TABLE 9
MOROCCAN POPULATION REGULARIZED IN 1991, BY AGE GROUPS

Age Groups (Years)	Absolute Value	Percent
0 to 11	—	—
12 to 16	116	0.2
17 to 21	4,225	9.4
22 to 26	13,200	29.4
27 to 31	11,743	26.1
32 to 36	7,350	16.3
37 to 41	4,289	9.5
42 to 51	2,958	6.6
52 to 61	935	2.1
62 to 81	117	0.3
Unspecified	3	0.1
Total	44,938	100.0

Source: Bureau of Migratory Affairs; results of regularization process up to March 10, 1992.

TABLE 10
MOROCCAN POPULATION REGULARIZED IN 1991, BY GENDER

	Absolute Value	Percent
Men	42,351	86.0
Women	6,804	14.0
Total	49,155	100.0

Source: Bureau of Migratory Affairs; results of regularization process up to December 31, 1993.

TABLE 11
MOROCCAN POPULATION REGULARIZED IN 1991, BY CIVIL STATE

Marital Status	Absolute Value	Percent
Single	31,056	63.2
Married	17,344	35.3
Divorced	350	0.7
Widowed	296	0.6
Legally Separated	97	0.2
Total	49,155	100.0

Source: Bureau of Migratory Affairs; results of regularization process up to December 31, 1993.

TABLE 12
MOROCCAN POPULATION REGULARIZED IN 1991, BY AREA OF EMPLOYMENT

Activities	Absolute Value	Percent
Agricultural Production	11,944	24.3
Fishing	1,028	2.1
Industry	3,772	7.7

Table 12 reflects the composition of the colony by area of employment. Moroccan immigrants are mainly workers in agricultural production and construction. Secondly, a high number hold domestic service occupations. Other areas of employment chosen by the group are small businesses and hotels.

The fundamental occupations of the Moroccan population living in urban zones – primarily Madrid and Barcelona – are construction and domestic service. On the other hand, those living in tourist zones work in hotel-keeping and running small businesses, especially ambulatory vending, as well as construction. A great number of the Moroccan population living in the rural Mediterranean areas, especially Catalonia and Levante, is concentrated in agricultural production.

LEGAL AND STATISTICAL UPDATE

As mentioned earlier, the Spanish government assembled a keen immigration policy in the first half of 1991. Regardless of the difficulties found in the implementation of the 1985 Foreigner Law, the Executive ruled the control of immigration flows by means of visa requirements, border protection, and

quota assignments. Moreover, the immigration policy set by the Spanish government included: 1) a drive against the underground economy, 2) a pursuit of higher social promotion and integration standards, 3) an enforcement of the political procedures, 4) better coordination and centralization methods, and 5) a revision of the asylum and refuge-granting processes.

Meanwhile a foreign aid campaign was implemented especially directed at the Maghreb countries. These countries are undergoing noticeable demographic pressure and remain the most important sources of migrants into Spain.

Another fact that shows immigration awareness on the part of Spanish officials was the establishment of the Bureau of Migratory Affairs within the Ministry of Labor in October 1991.

The most important political decisions that affected the Moroccan colony of immigrants, chronologically stated, are the following:

- Visa requirement at the border established: May, 1991 for Moroccans.
- The 1991 regularization process (June 10 to December 12) offering legal status to many Moroccans living in Spain May 15, 1991, or before. In addition, from December 10, 1991 to March 10, 1992, an administrative procedure was set to regularize family members – those who proved to be in Spain before March 15, 1991. These residence and work permits should be easily renewable.
- The treaty signed by Spain and Morocco in February 1992 which was supposed to solve most of the problems coming from the uncontrolled migration flows. Morocco had to supervise uncontrolled migrant flows through its territory towards Spain. On the other hand, Spain granted free movement for three months to Moroccans who were legal residents in any of the EC countries. Both countries are to monitor labor migration between them.
- Increased enforcement of border surveillance, together with the organization of a special police department to filter out illegal migrants at the border.
- A quota system established in 1993. Up to 20,600 foreign workers allowed to enter the country: 48.5 percent to work in the agricultural sector, temporarily or permanently; 5.3 percent to be unskilled construction workers; the remaining 46.1 percent to consist of service workers, mostly domestic. Applications submitted by people from neighboring countries or those with a bilateral agreement to be considered first. It is quite clear that one of the main goals of this quota system is to draw Moroccans to work in the agricultural sector.

A look at the most recent statistics of the foreign population residing in Spain will help assess the impact of the 1991 regularization process. First, the total number of foreign residents in Spain, once validated at the end of 1990, decreased from 407,647 to 278,796. The fact that the police procedure did not discard outdated residency permits explains the total figures for 1991

(360,655) and 1992 (393,100), which are not surprising anymore. These totals clearly reflect the increase in the foreign resident population, mostly due to the regularization process: 81,859 in 1991 and 32,445 in 1992. Generally speaking, the regularization process lowered the importance of the European foreign residents while increasing the numbers of foreign Africans and Asians (Table 13).

As indicated in Table 14, Catalonia, Madrid and Basque Country share an increased percent of the population of this kind. Also altered by the regularization process was the distribution pattern of the foreign resident population.

TABLE 13
RESIDENT ALIENS IN SPAIN IN 1990 AND 1993, BY CONTINENT OF ORIGIN (PERCENTAGE)

Continent	1990	1992
Europe	66.2	50.3
Asia	7.1	8.5
Africa	6.3	18.1
North and Central America	7.8	8.1
South America	12.0	14.7
Oceania	0.3	0.2
Expatriate and Unspecified Nationality	0.2	0.1
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: INE, 1991-1993.

TABLE 14
RESIDENT ALIENS IN SPAIN BY COMMUNITY OF DESTINATION IN 1990 AND 1992 (PERCENTAGE)

Autonomous Communities	1990	1992
Andalusia	17.8	14.0
Aragon	1.0	1.3
Asturias	1.0	1.6
Balears	8.0	5.4
Canary Islands	12.7	10.0
Cantabria	0.4	0.5
Castile-Leon	2.5	3.1
Castile-La Mancha	0.5	0.9
Catalonia	16.2	18.7
Valencia	15.8	13.0
Extremadura	0.6	0.9
Galicia	3.7	3.6
Madrid	14.9	21.5
Murcia	0.8	1.4
Navarre	0.5	0.7
Basque Country	0.5	2.8
Rioja	0.1	0.3
Ceuta and Melilla	0.2	0.2
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: INE, 1991-1993.

On the other hand, the percents for Andalusia, Balears, Canary Islands, and Valencia in 1992 are smaller than in 1990.

The increase of the Moroccan population due to the regularization process is spectacular, going from a total, nonvalidated, of 16,665 in 1990 to 49,513 in 1991 and 54,105 in 1992, both validated figures. Looking at the percentages, the change is also very noticeable: from 4 percent in 1990 to 13.8 percent in 1992. In 1992 Moroccans are three-fourths of the African residents in Spain. As shown in Table 15, the spatial distribution of this group has not changed substantially from the patterns described earlier: residents in 1990 and regularized in 1991. Catalonia, Madrid, and Andalusia are by far the most common destinations of the Moroccans.

CONCLUSIONS

This study addressed the problem of the Moroccan immigration into Spain within the context of South-North movements, focusing on analyzing provisional data from the last immigrant regularization in the country completed during the end months of 1991.

We would like to mention the discrepancy between the scarcity of available sources and the great interest and importance that the migratory phenomenon holds in the European and, in particular, the Spanish context.

TABLE 15
RESIDENT MOROCCANS IN SPAIN BY COMMUNITY OF DESTINATION, 1992

Autonomous Communities	Absolute Value	Percent
Andalusia	8,102	15.3
Aragon	684	1.2
Asturias	127	0.2
Balears	1,133	2.1
Canary Islands	1,951	3.7
Cantabria	51	0.1
Castile-Leon	509	1.0
Castile-La Mancha	964	1.8
Catalonia	18,619	35.1
Valencia	2,917	5.5
Extremadura	1,341	2.5
Galicia	422	0.8
Madrid	11,729	22.1
Murcia	2,456	4.6
Navarre	144	0.3
Basque Country	1,148	2.2
Rioja	254	0.5
Ceuta and Melilla	498	0.9
Subtotal	53,049	100.0
Unknown	1,056	
Total	54,105	

Source: INE, 1993.

We finish this study as we approach the future, suggesting some questions on the prospective development of Moroccan immigration in Spain.

Will the flow from Morocco continue over the next few years? Without doubt, Moroccans will continue arriving, legally or illegally.

How long will these immigrants stay in Spain? It doesn't seem as if they are going to be allowed to stay indefinitely. For political reasons, no one wants to take a clear stand on this point. Popular opinion is not willing to accept those they see as illegal competitors; the first waves of racism and xenophobia have been manifested.

By investing in the country of origin we may have a chance to control this migratory current. This is, more or less, the official policy of the international organizations dedicated to these issues. The FAO recommends important investments for the improvement of agricultural production in North Africa. Perhaps this is the best way out.

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